

few moments ago. He must prepare this complicated plan of financing the State government. The General Assembly, it is true, may alter it in some respects and must finally approve it, but it is the Governor who bears the overwhelming burden of responsibility for the contents of the budget.

All of this requires legislation, and if his plan is to succeed the Governor must exercise whatever influence he possesses to bring about its enactment. He, of course, has no vote in either house, but he nevertheless must, by persuasion, leadership or other weapons at hand, bring about the passage of legislation if he is to fulfill his duties as the chief executive of the State.

I mentioned earlier the question of political leadership, and I think it is clear to all of us that no head of state can enjoy any great measure of success without political skills, political experience, political sagacity and a sense of politics. We are all familiar with the maxim that ours is a government of laws and not of men. In a certain philosophical sense, that of course is true. But in government one deals with men. And men, as we know, are both strong and frail, wise and unwise, good and sinful. The knowledge of how to deal with men, and the forces behind them, is the subtle art of politics. Without a gift for politics, a public official, whether executive or legislative, is, to say the very least, severely handicapped.

Before I conclude these remarks, I should like to say that I am keenly conscious that we Americans feel that the fundamental principle of the separation of powers is our greatest guarantee of political liberties and our surest safeguard against the despotic use of power by public officials. But we have seen that our constitution-makers very carefully refused to vest in either of the branches—executive, legislative or judicial—exclusive exercise of the powers which were granted generally. The executive exercises certain checks on the two other branches. In turn, it is checked in the exercise of its authority by both. Each of the branches should use discretion and good judgment in applying the checks and controls upon the other branches. But any branch would be neglecting its constitutional responsibility if it applied no checks and controls at all.